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ABSTRACT

This is a contrastive analysis of Dari and Pashto, both official languages of Afghanistan, with a view toward outlining the difficulties faced by speakers of Dari learning Pashto as a second language. The main focus is on morphological structures, although phonology is also briefly dealt with. The brief phonological comparison, with emphasis on a Dari speaker's difficulties in learning Pashto phonology, is followed by chapters describing Pashto and Dari morphology. A detailed analysis is made of difficulties encountered by the Dari speaker in learning Pashto morphology. The major difficulties are divided into the following areas: (1) number, gender, and case in parts of speech other than the verb; (2) the verbal system; (3) agreement, involving number, gender, case, and the verbal system; (4) order, only as it affects phrase constructions; and (5) the noun. (Author/AM)

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MAJOR PROBLEMS OF DARI SPEAKERS IN MASTERING PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

by

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THESIS

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ABSTRACT

MAJOR PROBLEMS OF DARI SPEAKERS IN MASTERING PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

Afghanistan is a multi-lingual country. More than thirty different languages are spoken in the country. Pashto and Dari (Afghan Standard Persian, mainly Kabuli dialect) are the two official languages. Pashto is spoken by more than fifty percent of the population, and Dari is spoken by about thirty-seven percent of the total population. Dari is functioning as a lingua franca--that is, more than eighty percent of the total population are speaking Dari as a native, second, or third language. Dari and Pashto are both Indo-European languages; however their close historical relationship goes too far back in time to make either language intelligible to the speaker of the other. The overall similarities, however, are helpful to the speakers of Dari learning Pashto or vice-versa. The similarities may be phonological, morphological, and syntactical.

Pashto has been a required subject for Dari-speaking children in Afghan schools since 1936. Since then, Pashto textbooks have been prepared for use in the schools. No systematic attempt has been made to identify the problems of Dari learners of Pashto; nor has there been any preparation of teaching materials with particular attention to an emphasis on solutions of these problems (Burhan 1972).

It was felt that there is a need for a contrastive study of these two languages. This is such a study, concentrating primarily on morphology, though phonology is also discussed in a sketchy manner.

This study consists of four chapters. Chapter One is the description of both Pashto and Dari phonology. The last portion of this chapter is devoted to the difficulties that Dari speakers face in mastering Pashto phonology. Chapters Two and Three are the descriptions of Pashto and Dari morphology. Chapter Four is the final analysis of morphological

difficulties facing Dari speakers learning Pashto.

It is hoped that in the future further investigation will continue the work here started, covering areas not adequately discussed.

SOURCES:

Burhan, Mohammad Esmael. "Bilingual Education for Afghanistan". Doctoral Dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, August 1972.

Lado, Robert. Linguistics Across Cultures. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan, 1964.

Pengl, Herbert. A Grammar of Pashto. American Council of Learned Societies, 1955.

A C K N O W L E D G M E N T S

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

Pashto and Dari (Afghan Persian) are the two official languages in Afghanistan. Pashto is spoken by more than thirteen million people, including more than half of the population of Afghanistan and the seven million people of Pashtoonistan.

There are two main dialects of Pashto, the "Northeastern" and the "Southwestern." The former is spoken in Paktia, Jalalabad, Laghman, Kabul, Logar, Maidan, Wardak, and the northern provinces of Afghanistan. The latter is spoken in Kandahar, Greshk, and Fara, and is considered as the "standard" dialect. The Kandahar version of this dialect is in use among the educated people. Because its phonemic system corresponds to the prevailing orthography, the Kandahar dialect has great prestige among the Afghan educated people. (See Penzl, sec. 4.4.)

Dari is spoken in most parts of Afghanistan, both in rural areas and by a majority of the population of the towns. Kabul, the capital, is almost entirely Dari-speaking. The Kabuli dialect is spoken by the educated people and is considered the "standard" dialect.

Although Pashto and Dari are both Indo-Iranian languages, their close historical relationship goes too far back in time to make either language intelligible to the speaker of the other. The overall similarities, however, are helpful to the speakers of Dari learning Pashto.

Pashto has been a required subject for Dari-speaking children in Afghan schools since 1936. Since then, Pashto textbooks have been prepared for use in schools. To the best of my knowledge, however, no systematic attempt has been made to identify the problems of Dari learners of Pashto and to prepare teaching materials with particular attention to and emphasis on solutions for these problems. A first--and major--step in identifying the problems likely to be encountered by the learner of a foreign language is a contrastive study of the foreign language and the native language. Such studies have become more and more common in recent years (mostly in situations where one of the two languages is English), but none has appeared in print on Pashto and Dari. For this reason, it was felt that there is a need for a contrastive study of these two languages. This thesis is one part of such a study, concentrating primarily on morphology, though phonology is also discussed in a sketchy manner. It is to be hoped that other investigators will continue the work here started, covering areas not adequately discussed.

It should be noted that the purpose here is not to provide a detailed description of the two languages, which can be found in the works to which reference will be made. The purpose is to compare and contrast the two languages in certain areas of their structure. A detailed listing of all forms and items would serve little useful purpose and would merely repeat the work of previous investigators.

Therefore, this study provides only an outline of the structure of each language together with a limited number of examples.

The descriptive statements on phonological and morphological systems of Pashto are largely based on A Grammar of Pashto, a descriptive study of the dialect of Kandahar, 1955, by Herbert Penzl. The descriptive statements on phonology and morphology of Dari are largely based on Abdul Ghafur Farhadi, Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, Paris, 1955. The heaviest debt is to Professor Penzl's work, which has been freely drawn on, in most instances summarizing his analysis, with few changes here and there.

Chapter I presents the principal differences between the sound systems of Pashto and Dari and identifies the major difficulties which confront the Dari-speakers in mastering the phonology of Pashto. Chapters II and III will deal with the morphology of Pashto and Dari, respectively. Chapter IV mentions briefly some of the differences between the morphological structures of the two languages.

CHAPTER I

THE PHONOLOGY OF PASHTO AND DARI

Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, the phonemes of Pashto and Dari will be listed, and the major phonotactic facts presented. In the second part, the chief differences between the two phonological systems will be discussed briefly. The treatment of all of these subjects, however, will be in outline form, and quite brief, since the central concern of this thesis is the morphology of the two languages. The information on phonology will be given as background only. More detailed descriptions will be found in the works listed in the bibliography. Only a few of the allophonic differences will be noted.

Table 1. Pashto and Dari Consonants

		Bilabial		Labiodental		Dental		Alveolar		Prepalatal		Velar		Postvelar		Glottal	
		P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D	P	D
Stops	Voiceless	p	p			t	t			ṭ		k	k		q		
	Voiced	b	b			d	d			ḍ		g	g				
Affricates	Voiceless							c		c	c						
	Voiced							ʒ		j	j						
Fricatives	Voiceless				f	s	s	š	š	ṣ				x	x	h	
	Voiced					z	z	ž	ž	ẓ				ǧ	ǧ		
Nasals		m	m			n	n			ṇ							
Liquids	Lateral							l	l								
	Trill							r	r	ṛ							
Semivowels		w	w							y	y						

P = Pashto D = Dari

A dot under a letter indicates a retroflex articulation.

Table 2. Pashto and Dari Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
	P	D	P	D	P	D
High	i	i			u	u
Mid	e	e	ə		o	o
Low	æ	æ			a	a

The Phonology of Pashto

Pashto shows considerable dialectal variation. The following description is based on the (southwestern) Kandahar dialect, which is generally considered the "standard" dialect.

1. Pashto Consonants[1]

There are some consonants in Pashto which do not occur in the speech of monolingual speakers, but only in the formal speech of the educated people, who are bilingual in Pashto and Dari. These are considered "elegant" phonemes, and consist of /f/ (ف) voiceless labiodendal fricative; /q/ (ق) voiceless velar stops; /ʔ/ (ځ) glottal stop; /ḥ/ pharyngeal. They are not part of the spoken Pashto of Kandahar, and so will not appear in the following description of Pashto phonemes.

a. Stops

/p/,/b/ voiceless and voiced bilabial stops: [p'] and [b].

/t/,/d/ voiceless and voiced dental stops: [t'], [d].

/ṭ/,/ḍ/ voiceless and voiced retroflex prepalatal stops: [ṭ'], [ḍ].

/k/,/g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops: [kʸ], [gʸ] before the front vowels, [k'], [g] elsewhere.

b. Affricates

/ʦ/,/ʣ/ voiceless and voiced alveolar affricates: [ts], [dz].

/c/,/ɟ/ voiceless and voiced prepalatal affricates: [tǰ], [dǰ].

c. Fricatives

/s/,/z/ voiceless and voiced dental fricatives: [s], [z].

/š/,/ž/ voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives: [š], [ž].

/ṣ/,/ẓ/ voiceless and voiced retroflex prepalatal fricatives: [ṣ],[ẓ].

/x/,/ǧ/ voiceless and voiced post-velar fricatives: [x],[ǧ].

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative: [h].

d. Nasals

/m/ bilabial nasal: [m].

/n/ dental nasal [n]

/ṇ/ retroflex prepalatal nasal: [ṇ].

e. Liquids

/l/ alveolar lateral: [l].

/r/ alveolar trill: [r].

/ṛ/ retroflex prepalatal trill: [ṛ̌].

f. Semivowels

/w/ bilabial high back rounded semivowel: [w].

/y/ prepalatal high front semivowel: [y].

2. Pashto Consonant Clusters

Consonant clusters in general occur in all positions. Initial clusters are very common, a fact which is of special interest to us because of the absence of such clusters in Dari. For a list of the initial consonant clusters, see Penzl, p. 16.

3. Pashto Vowels[2]

a. Front Vowels (all unrounded)

/i/ high front: [i].

/e/ mid front: [e] occurs in medial and final positions, but not initially.

/æ/ low front: [æ].

b. Central Vowel: /ə/

[ə] occurs in medial and final positions, but not initially.

c. Back Vowels

/u/ high back rounded: [u].

/o/ mid back rounded: [o].

/a/ low back unrounded: [a].

4. Pashto Diphthongs

In Pashto, /æ, e, ə, u, a/ combine with /y/, and /æ, ə, o, a/ combine with /w/, to form the following diphthongs: /æy, ey, əy, uy, ay, æw, əw, ow, aw/.

5. Pashto Suprasegmental Phonemes

a. Stress

There are three phonemes of stress: primary /ˊ/, secondary /ˋ/ and weak /ˆ/, the latter usually left unmarked in transcription. Each word in isolation has one primary stress, but the place of stress is not predictable in polysyllabic words.

b. Pitch

There are four pitches: extra high /4/, high /3/, medium /2/, and low /1/. /4/ occurs very rarely. The high pitch /3/ generally occurs on the last primary stress within the phonological phrase.

c. Juncture

Pauses result in several types of junctures: close /./, internal open /+/, sustain /|/, rise /||/, and fall /#/. In phonemic transcription, /+/ is represented by space, and close juncture by the absence of space between two segmental phonemes.

The Phonology of Dari

There are dialectal variations in Dari too. The present description is based on the Kabuli dialect, which is considered the "standard" dialect. The two glottal phonemes /ʔ,h/ will not appear in the following description of Dari phonemes because they do not occur in the speech of the Dari speakers in Kabul. They are only

represented in the written form of Dari, and most such cases (especially in the case of /ʔ/ع) represent Arabic borrowings.

1. Dari Consonants

a. Stops

/p/,/b/ voiceless and voiced bilabial stops: [p'], [b].

/t/,/d/ voiceless and voiced dental stops: [t'], [d].

/k/,/g/ voiceless and voiced velar stops: [kʸ], [gʸ] before front vowels; [k'], [g] elsewhere.

/q/ voiceless post-velar stop: [q]

This phoneme does not have a voiced counterpart.

b. Affricates

/c/,/j/ voiceless and voiced prepalatal affricates: [tš], [dž].

c. Fricatives

/f/ voiceless labiodental fricative: [f].

It does not have a voiced counterpart.

/s/,/z/ voiceless and voiced dental fricatives: [s], [z].

/š/,/ž/ voiceless and voiced alveolar fricatives: [š], [ž].

/x/,/ǧ/ voiceless and voiced postvelar fricatives: [x],[ǧ].

d. Nasals

/m/ bilabial nasal: [M] (voiceless) after voiceless phonemes and before /-1/; [m] elsewhere.

/n/ dental nasal: [N] (voiceless) before /k, g, q̇/; [n] elsewhere.

e. Liquids

/l/ alveolar lateral: [l̥] ("dark l") in syllable final position; [L] (voiceless) before /t, k, g/; [l] elsewhere.

/r/ alveolar trill: [r̆] (lateral) in intervocalic position; [R] (voiceless) in syllable final position; [r] elsewhere.

f. Semivowels

/w/ bilabial high back semivowel: [w].

/y/ prepalatal high front semivowel: [y].

2. Dari Consonant Clusters

Dari does not have initial consonant clusters. There are, however, numerous hetro-syllabic clusters of two consonants each in the medial and final positions.

3. Dari Vowels

a. Front Vowels (all unrounded)

/i/ high front: [i]

/e/ mid front: [e]

/æ/ low front: [æ].

b. Back vowels

/u/ high back rounded: [u].

/o/ mid back rounded: [o].

/a/ low back somewhat front unrounded: [a].

4. Dari Diphthongs

/æ, e, u, a/ combine with /y/ and /æ, o/ combine with /w/ to form the following diphthongs: /æy, ey, uy, ay, æw, ow/.[3]

1.10 Dari Suprasegmental Phonemes

a. Stress

There are three phonemes of stress: primary /ˊ/, secondary /ˋ/ and weak /ˆ/, the latter usually left unmarked. The primary stress usually regularly falls on the last syllable of a noun, adjective, and pronoun.

b. Pitch

There are four pitches: extra high /4/, high /3/, medium /2/, and low /1/. /4/ occurs very rarely. The high pitch /3/ generally falls on the last primary stress in the phonological phrase.

c. Juncture

There are five junctures: close /./, internal-open /+/, sustain /|/, rise /||/ and fall /#/. /+/ is generally indicated by space in phonemic transcription; and close juncture by the absence of space between two symbols representing segmental phonemes.

Major Differences Between the Phonological Systems of Pashto and Dari

A comparison of the phonological systems of the two languages, as outlined in the preceding sections, indicates some of the major differences between the two systems, and thus some of the problems a speaker of Dari is likely to encounter in pronouncing Pashto. In the following paragraphs, the letter P indicates Pashto, and D stands for Dari.

1. Problems Involving Individual Phonemes

(1) There are two Pashto phonemes for which there are no corresponding phonemes in the corresponding points in the Dari system. These are P/ə/ and P/h/. Dari speakers usually substitute /e/, /æ/ or /o/ for P/ə/. The choice of one or the other of these substitutes is not predictable. Thus, P/towpə́k/ 'gun' is reproduced as /towpék/; /ʒə́m/ 'I go' as /zóm/; /ʒə́kæ/ 'because' as /zékæ/. P/h/ usually disappears in the pronunciation of the Dari speaker, e.g., P/hælík/ 'boy' is reproduced as /ælík/, P/pówh/ 'school' as /pów/

(2) In a number of instances, a Pashto phoneme with no counterpart in Dari is merged with one which does have a counterpart in the Dari system:

(a) The prepalatal retroflex P/ṭ ḍ ṇ/ merge with their nonretroflex dental counterparts /t d n/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to reproduce

/tówl/ 'all,' /ḍéyr/ 'much,' /mæṇáʃ/ 'apple' as /tówl/, /déyr/, /mænáʃ/, respectively.

(b) The prepalatal retroflex P/ṣ ẓ/ are merged with alveolar /ś ź/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to mispronounce /ṣár/ 'city,' /kéyẓi/ 'be done' as /śár/ and /kéyźi/ respectively.

(c) The alveolar affricates P/ʦ ʣ/ are merged with prepalatal affricates /c ɟ/. A Dari speaker will tend to replace /ʦadár/ 'scarf,' and /wrúʣ/ 'rice' with /cadár/ and /worúɟ/, respectively.

The pattern of substitutions in the above cases has two features in common: (a) The manner of articulation remains the same in each case, while the place of articulation changes. (b) In each case the Pashto phoneme with no counterpart in Dari is merged with a phoneme that does have a Dari counterpart and is in the nearest column (i.e., having the nearest place of articulation). This is always the nearest column to the left. This pattern is quite obvious in the substitution of /ś ź/, rather than the expected /s,z/, for P/ṣ,ẓ/.

(3) In one case, there are two alternate substitutes for a Pashto phoneme. The retroflex P/ṛ/ is replaced either with /r/ or, most often, with /l/. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to say /lúnd~rúnd/ for P/ṛúnd/ 'blind.' Again, here we can see that the place of articulation changes. As to the manner of articulation, it remains basically the same, in that both /r/ and /l/ are "liquids" (or "linguals"), though they belong to two sub-categories within the broad "liquid"

category. It is interesting, however, that the lateral /l/ is used in place of /ṛ/ more often than the apparently "closer" trill /r/. This confusion is apparently due to the close phonetic features of /r ṛ l/, as Penzl has indicated. (See Penzl, p. 25.)

(4) The alveolar affricate pair P/ȼ ʒ/ presents a combination of the features present in (2) and (3). Sometimes, they are merged with /c j/, which are the only other affricates in Pashto (and Dari), that is, the only other phonemes with the same manner of articulation. Thus, a Dari speaker tends to say /cá /, and /jáy/ for P/ȼá/ 'well' and /ʒáy/ 'place' respectively. In these examples, the substitution follows the pattern under (2), with the minor difference that these phonemes merge with the closest phonemes to their right. This is not surprising, however, because there are no phonemes to their left.

At other times, however, the alveolar affricates /ȼ ʒ/ are replaced with the dental fricatives /s z/, as in P/ȼarǽndúy/ 'boy scout' and P/wrέʒ/ 'day' which will be pronounced as /sarǽndúy/ and /worέz /, respectively. In these and similar cases, both the place and the manner of articulation are changed. This is partially similar to the situation described in (3). The difference is that in that situation the manner of articulation remained basically the same. Once again, the change in the manner of articulation could not be exactly the same as in the case of those under (2), since there are no affricates to the left of /ȼ ʒ/, so that /s z/ are the "closest"

phonemes to them in this respect. It seems that the manner of articulation has priority in sound substitution.

2. Problems Involving the Distribution of Phonemes

(1) P stressed and unstressed /əy/ containing the vowel /ə/, which has no equivalent in Dari, are difficult for Dari speakers. Thus, /məlgə́rəy/ 'friend' is reproduced as /mælgárəy/, and P/spə́y/ 'bitch' as /sepə́y/. These substitutions actually represent two problems: (a) The vowel /ə/ is not familiar to the speaker of Dari. (b) The Dari speaker is accustomed to maintaining the vowel distinctions of Dari in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

(2) The major problem in the area of the distribution of phonemes is caused by the presence of initial consonant clusters in Pashto, and their absence in Dari. These are very difficult for the speaker of Dari, who mispronounces them according to the following patterns:

1. P./Cw/>/Cow/:/ǧwá / 'cow'>/ǧowá/
2. P/CC/>/eC~CeC/: /špə́/ 'nig[illegible] /ešpə́ ~ šepə́ /.

(3) The stress usually occurs in the final position in Dari substantives but its place is unpredictable in Pashto; and this causes difficulty for Dari-speaking students.

(4) Certain sequences of Pashto phonemes are difficult for Dari speakers because of a combination of factors. Perhaps the most

important of these are initial consonant clusters containing the retroflex P/ṛ/. Such clusters are difficult both because initial consonant clusters do not exist in Dari, and because Dari does not have retroflex phonemes. Thus, P/Cṛ/>/CVl/, e.g., /trə̀l/ 'going'> / tə́lél/. Note that this example contains a third difficulty in the phoneme P/ə/, for which /e/ is substituted here.

NOTES FOR PART I

[1]Although generally I follow Penzl's analysis, some of my symbols differ from his. I use the symbol for the retroflex phonemes /ṭ ḍ ṣ ẓ ṇ ṛ/ while Penzl uses /tt dd ss zz nn rr/ respectively. I use /c ǰ/ for his /tsh dzh/. In his later book, A Reader of Pashto 1965; he uses the same symbols for all the consonants as I do, except that he uses /č/ for my /c/. Other differences between my symbols and his are in the affricate /ȼ,ʗ/, which he analyzes as clusters: /ts,dz/ respectively.

[2]In the case of the vowels, Penzl has a set of short vowels /i a e ə/ and a set of long ones (ee oo aa). In my analysis, length is not distinctive, and the vowels are /i e æ/ (front), /ə/ (central), and /u o a/ (back). What Penzl considers as long vowels /ee/ and /oo/, are here analyzed as diphtongs: /ey/ and /ow/.

[3]Sometimes in informal spoken language, /w/ and /y/ form initial clusters with a preceding voiceless stop, fricative or /l/; e.g., /pyáz / 'onion;' /syá / 'black;' /lwáb/ 'inspissated juice.' Such forms alternate with /piyáz/, /siyá/, and /lowáb/.

CHAPTER II

PASHTO MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Pashto morphology will be discussed in terms of "parts of speech." Parts of speech, as here defined, are grammatical categories consisting of "free" morphemes, or combinations of free morphemes and derivational affixes, which form lexical units, and to each of which categories, with a few exceptions, specific inflectional bound morphemes indicating gender, case, etc., can or must be added. The main parts of speech are determined on the basis of a combination of syntactic and morphological (inflectional) criteria. The following description is based primarily on H. Penzl's A Grammar of Pashto with modifications by the present writer based on his own knowledge of the language. Other sources will be identified when used, as well as in the bibliography.

The Pashto parts of speech can be subdivided into two broad groups according to whether or not they are inflected. The uninflected group will be discussed first.

2.1 Particles

The uninflected parts of speech in Pashto have been collectively called "Particles," and consist of the following four classes:

a. Interjections

Interjections often constitute brief independent utterances, e.g., /yáˀ/ 'No!'; /hów/ 'Yes!.' Many of them express various emotions and exclamations; e.g., /wáx/ 'Ouch!'; /æpsówš/ 'unfortunately!'; /šábas/ (term of admiration).

b. Prepositions

Prepositions express relations between nouns or noun phrases: /dáˀ/ 'of, from, for'; /páˀ/ 'in, at, on, by'; /pár/ 'on'; /tár/ 'upto,' /láˀ/ 'from'; /béy/ 'without.' Examples are: /də ṣwénkæy kówr/ 'the house of the teacher'; /pə kælám/ 'with a pen'; /pár méyz ki déy/ 'It is on the table'; /tər kówræ/ 'upto the house'; /lə kówræ/ 'from the house'; /bey kówræ/ 'without a house.'

c. Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur between or within phrases or sentences. /éw/ 'and'; /yáˀ/ 'or'; /káˀ/ 'or' (in questions), /ya . . . ya/ 'either . . . or'; etc. Examples are: /də kærím æw æhméd plár raǧélæy déy/ 'Karim's father and Ahmad's father have come'; /Kærím æw də hǽǧæ plár ræǧélæy wu/ 'Karim and his father had come'; /ya pə pinsél wélikæ ya pə kælám/ 'Use either a pencil or a pen'; /hǽǧæ bæ raẓi kænéˀ/ 'will he come or not?'

Subordinating conjunctions include /ẓí/ 'when, that'; /cí/ 'when'; /ẓókæci/ 'because'; e.g., /dúy ci wáræseydəl múẓ

bæ lárṣu/ 'when they arrive, we'll go.'; /ɟôkæci æwá ḍéyræ sæṛá dæ tə báyæd lárṣi/ 'Because it is very cold, you should go.'

d. Adverbs

Adverbs are uninflected forms of adjectives functioning adverbially in a sentence, and indicating manner, time, place, degree; e.g., /žár/ 'quickly'; /ɟéngæ/ 'how' etc.: /žár bærási/ 'He will come soon.'; /ɟéngæ ráğley/ 'How did you come?'; /pærún/ 'yesterday'; /nán/ 'today' etc: /pærún ráğəy/ 'He came yesterday'; /nán æwá tæwdá dæ/ 'Today, it is hot'; /béyrtæ/ 'back'; /pówrtæ/ 'over, above'; /áltæ/ 'there'; e.g., /béyrtæ raɟá/ 'come back'; /pówrtæ kéyẓdæ/ 'Put it over there'; /zíṣt/ 'much,' /líẓ/ 'few' etc; e.g., /nán æwá zíṣtæ tæwdá dæ/ 'Today, it is very hot.'

2.2 Nouns

The remaining parts of speech, which are inflected, are substantives and verbs. The substantives are, in turn, subdivided into nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, and are inflected for gender, case, and number. The noun is the center of the substantival phrase, determining the case and gender of the related adjectives and pronouns. The noun, therefore, will be described first.

2.3 Gender

There are two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. In the case of animate beings, the formal distinction in gender

corresponds to the meaning; thus /lalá/ 'elder brother' and /mamá/ 'maternal uncle' are both masculine; and /lúr/ 'daughter,' /yówr/ 'sister-in-law,' /méyẓ/ 'ewe' are feminine.

As far as inanimate beings and objects are concerned, the final phoneme in each case indicates the gender of the noun. Thus, with few exceptions, nouns ending in a consonant or in /-æy, -u, -əy/ are masculine; e.g., /kówr/ 'house,' /lærgáy/ 'wood,' /cakú/ 'knife,' /kóləy/ 'village.' Nouns ending in /-ey, -i, -æ , -a, -ow/ and stressed /-əy/ (zwarakay) are feminine; e.g., /šæmbéy/ 'Saturday';/šádi/ 'happiness,' /mɨ́ɛkæ/ 'earth,' /wæyná/ 'speech' /péṣtow/ 'Pashto,' /karkáy/ 'window.' /əy/ is always stressed, but not the other endings.

Feminine nouns can be derived from the masculine nouns, but the reverse is rarely the case:

a. Masculine nouns derived from feminine:

Feminine		Masculine
/ǧwá/ 'cow'	:	/ǧwayáy/ 'ox'
/xówr/ 'sister'	:	/xowræyáy/ 'sister's son'

b. Feminine nouns derived from the masculine:

Masculine		Feminine
/ændiwál/ 'male friend'	:	/ændiwálæ / 'female friend'
/mál/ 'male companion'	:	/mlá / 'female companion'
/špún/ 'shepherd'	:	/špænás/ 'shepherdess'

2.4 Case

Pashto nouns are inflected for direct (nominative), oblique (I, II), and vocative cases.

a. The Direct Case

The direct (nominative) is the unmarked case, both in the singular and in the plural. It has two functions: (1) as subject when used with (a) the transitive verb forms in the present tense; and with (b) the intransitive verb forms in all tenses; e.g., /ælík njəlí winí/ 'The boy sees the girl'; /zə wáyəm/ 'I say'; (2) as object when used with (a) transitive forms in the past and the perfect, and with (b) all passive phrases; e.g., /njəléy ælík wúlidəlæ/ 'The boy was seen by the girl,' /ælík lidźl kéyẓi/ 'The boy is seen'; /ælik lidźləy su/ 'The boy was seen.'

b. The Oblique Case

The oblique case is the case of the agent, used with transitive verbs in past and perfect forms, and has a passive meaning; e.g., /sæṛi ṣźẓə wúlidəlæ/ 'The woman was seen by the man,' or /ælikánu njúṇi wúlidəley/ 'The girls were seen by the boys.'

The oblique case can be found with the inflectional ending /-æ/ or /-i/ (oblique II) or without inflectional ending (oblique I). The occurrence of oblique II is limited by sytactic environment. It occurs after particles /lź, tər, béy/ and before particle /pówri/ in the sequence /tər . . . pówri/; e.g., /bey æhmádæ/ 'without Ahmad'; /tər kówræ pówri/ 'as far as the house.'

The oblique plural morpheme endings are /-ów/ or /-u/. The oblique plural morphemes are added to the direct plural stems of nouns, adjectives, and pronouns as in /kówrow/ 'houses' /laru/ 'roads.' The plural formation in the direct case will be discussed in 2.5 and 2.6.

c. The Vocative Case

The vocative case is formed only on nouns designating living beings. The endings are /-æ/ or /-ə/ in the singular form of masculine nouns. In the feminine, only feminine human beings form vocative, by the suffix /-i/. Examples of the vocative case are: /ælíkæ/ 'boy!'; /mówri/ 'mother!'; /xré/ 'ass!'

2.5 Number

There are two numbers in Pashto nouns: singular and plural. The plural is in each case derived from the singular. The formation of the plural in the oblique case was discussed in 2.4. The formation of the plural of the direct case is discussed in this section. Masculine nouns form their plurals in one of the following ways:

a. Suffixation, as in the following:

/dówst/ 'friend' + /-an/ : /dowstán/

/ɣáṣ/ 'tooth' + /-unæ/ : /ɣaṣúnæ/

/nikə́/ 'ancestor' + /-gan/ : /nikəgán/

/malém/ 'teacher' + /-in/ : /malemín/

/muškél/ 'difficulty' + /-at/ : /muškelát/

The last two suffixes, of Arabic origin, are added only to the Arabic borrowings. None of the suffixes are predictable.

b. Deletion of the medial /-æ-/ from the stem and adding /-ə/ at the end of the stem; e.g., /ğǽr/ 'mountain'/: /ğrə́/; /mǽl/ 'companion': /mlə́/.

c.1. Substitution of /-ǽy/ or /-əy/; e.g., /sæṛǽy/ 'man'/: /sæṛí/; məlgə́rəy/ 'friend': /məlgə́ri/.

c.2. Substitution of /-anə/ for the final syllable /-un/; e.g., /špún/ 'shepherd': /španə́/; /pæṣtún/ 'Pashtoón, Afghan': /pæṣtanə́/.

d. Internal vowel alternation; e.g., /towpǽk/ 'gun': /towpə́k/; /duṣmǽn/ 'enemy': /duṣmə́n/.

e. Broken plurals (in Arabic loan words) (as in Dari); e.g., /kísm/ 'type'/: /æksam/. These plurals alternate with native plurals; e.g., /kismúnæ/; etc.

f. Irregular formation: /zúy/ 'son': /zamə́n/.

2.6 Feminine nouns form plurals in the following ways:

a. Suffixation, as in:

/ğwə́/ 'cow' + /-wi/ : /ğwə́wi/

/maṇə́y/ 'palace' + /-gani/ : /maṇəygə́ni/

/bizów/ 'monkey' + /-gani/ : /bizowgə́ni/

/gaḍə́y/ 'buggy' + /-ani/ : /gaḍəyə́ni/

The plural morpheme /-wi/ is more common in Kandahar than is /-gani/. Generally, the plural suffixes are not predictable.

b.1. Substitution of /-əy/ for the final /-i/; e.g., /najowṛí/ 'sickness': /najowṛə́y/; /dowstí/ 'friendship': /dowstə́y/.

b.2. Substitution of /-ṇi/ for the final /-r/; e.g., /lúr/ 'daughter': /lúṇi/; /yówr/ 'brothers' wive' /yowṇi/.

b.3. Substitution of /-ey/ for the final vowel; e.g., /špǽ/ 'night:' /špéy/.

b.4. Substitution of /-(w)ændi/ for the last syllable /-owr/; e.g., /mówr/ 'mother': /mǽndi/ /xówr/ 'sister': /xwǽndi/.

b.5. Substitution of /-i/ for the final unstressed vowel /-æ/ or the diphthongs /-əy, -æy/; e.g., /ṣə́ɣæ/ 'woman':/ṣəɣi/; /náwey/ 'bride': /náwi/; /njə́læy/ 'girl': /njĭli/.

c. No change: /ḍowḍə́y/ 'food:' /ḍowḍə́y/; /hilə́y/ 'duck:' /hilə́y/.

d. Broken plurals of Arabic loan words (as in Dari). These occur along with the native plurals; e.g., /muzakirǽ/ 'conversation': /muzakiréy ~ muzakirát/.

2.7 Adjectives

In general, adjectives agree completely with nouns in gender, case, and number. Feminine adjectives are derived from the masculine in several ways shown in Table 3. They precede the nouns to make phrases such as /owšyár ælík/'clever boy'. Pashto adjectives have no comparative or superlative forms. For further information on adjectives see Penzl, sec. 68. pp. 71-72.

The following table shows the inflectional forms of the adjectives:

Table 3. Pashto Adjectives

Direct Cases				Oblique Cases			Vocative Case	Meaning
Singular		Plural		Singular		Plural	Singular	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine			
ğəṓṭ	ğəṓṭə	ğəṓṭ	ğəṓṭi	ğəṓṭ	ğəṓṭi	ğəṓṭu	ğəṓṭə	'fat, big'
úṷd	uṷdə́	uṷdə́	uṷdéy	uṷdə́	uṷdéy	uṷdów		'long'
kucnə́y	kucnə́y	kucní	kucnə́y	kucní	kucnə́y	kucnə́yu	kucnəyə	'small, little'
nə́wəy	nə́wey	nə́wi	-	-	-	nə́wu	-	'new'
howsá	-	-	-	-	-	howsáwu	-	'comfortable'

Only singular adjectives can be used in the vocative case; and the vocative case can only refer to human beings.

2.8 Numerals

A subclass of adjectives consists of numerals, which occur in substantival phrases in the following order:

numeral + (counting morpheme) + (adjective) + noun:

/dréy	tǽnæ	ælikǽn/
'three	[counting morpheme]	boys'
/dréy	tǽnæ	ṣə ælikǽn/
'three	[counting morpheme]	good boys'

The cardinal numbers do not inflect for gender, except /yǽw/ 'one' and /dwǽ/ 'two'; thus we have: /yǽw ælík/ 'one boy'; /dwéy njilí/ 'two girls'; /yæwǽ njilǽy æw dwǽ ælikǽn/ 'one girl and two boys.'

The cardinal numbers take the ending /-ow/ in the oblique case. /ɕælówrow bæjów/ 'four o'clock.'

Only these numbers form plurals: /lǽs/ 'ten'; /šǽl/ 'twenty'; /sǽl/ 'hundred'; /zǽr/ 'thousand'; /læk/ '100,000'; e.g., /səlúnæ/ 'hundreds'; /zərgúnæ/ 'thousands.'

Ordinal numbers are formed by adding /-ǽm/ to the cardinal number, except for /æwǽl, lumṛéy/ 'first'; e.g., /dwǽm/ 'second'; /ɕælowrǽm/ 'fourth'; etc.

2.9 Pronouns

There are three types of pronouns: (a) Personal pronouns, which inflect only for number and case (but not for the vocative case),

except that the third person singular personal pronoun inflects also for gender. Related to the personal pronouns, there are two groups of morphemes, pronominal particles and pronominal prefixes, as well as possessive pronouns (See Penzl, sec 77). (b) Indefinite interrogatives, which do not inflect for gender, but often are inflected for case. (c) Demonstrative pronouns, which, with one exception, inflect for gender, case and number.

a. Personal Pronouns

(1) The oblique case forms of the personal pronoun function as direct objects with transitive verbs in present and future tenses, and as agents in the past; e.g., /tó má wíney/ 'You see me'; /zó tá wúwinəm/ 'I'll see you'; /tá zó wúlidəm/ 'You saw me.'

(2) Pronominal particles syntactically function without any inflectional endings as personal pronouns; they occur either as the subject or the object of a sentence. They function as subjects with transitive verbs in the past, as in /dáy mi wúlid/ 'I saw him.' In other situations, however, they function as direct objects or as possessives; e.g., /zó yéy náxrom/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketab di círi dáy/ 'Where is your book.'

(3) The pronominal prefixes that often take the place of personal pronouns, functioning as possessive or object markers in phrases, occur in close juncture with particles /tə/; /sərə/, etc., as in /rátə/ 'to me,' /dórtæ/ 'to you,' /wórtæ/ 'to him, her,' /rásərə/ 'with me,' etc.

(4) The personal pronouns in the oblique case can function as possessive pronouns. In this function, /z-/ is prefixed to the first person singular and plural and /s-/ is prefixed to the second person singular and plural. In the third person singular and plural the preposition /də/ is prefixed: /zmá/ 'my'; /stá/ 'your'; and /də dey/ 'her'. The following table lists the personal pronouns:

Table 4. Pashto Personal Pronouns

	Personal Pronouns				Pronominal Forms			Possessive Pronouns	
	Direct Case		Oblique Case		Particles		Prefixes		
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural		Singular	Plural
1.	zə́	múẓ	máẓ	mú	mi	mu	ra-	zmá	zmúẓ.
2.	tə́	tásí, tásu	tá	tásí, tásu	di	mu	dər-	stá	stásí
3.	dáy(m) dá(f)	dúy dúy	dé déy	dúy dúy	yey	yey	wər-	dədé dədéy	dədúy dədúy

b. The Indefinite Interrogative Pronouns

The indefinite interrogative pronouns are: /ɕówk/ 'who'; /ɕə́/ 'what'; /cá/ 'anybody, somebody'; e.g., /ɕówk'ci ğwáṛi wadə́ ki . . ./ 'Anybody who wants to get married . . .'; /ɕə́ ci wáwayi hæğæ bæwúki/ 'He does whatever he says he will'. /ɕówk/ with transitive verbs in the past tense is used as direct object and /cá/ is used as the subject. Examples are: /tá ɕówk wálid/ 'whom did you see?'; /tə́ cá wálidey/ 'who saw you?'.

c. Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns, as clearly indicated inflect for gender, number and case, except for /da/ 'this, these' which inflects for case only.

Direct Case			Oblique Case		
			Singular		Plural
Singular	Plural		Masc.	Fem.	
/dá/	/dá/	'this, these'	/déy/	/déy/	/déy/
/hǽǧæ/	/hǽǧæ/	'that, those'	/hæǧæ/	/hǽǧey/	/hǽǧu/
/dǽǧæ/	/dǽǧæ/	'this, that'	/dǽǧæ/	/dǽǧey/	/dǽǧu/

/dá/ is used as a demonstrative pronoun as well as a personal pronoun (third person singular). When used as a demonstrative pronoun, it is interchangeable with /dǽǧæ/.

2.10 Verbs

The verbal system in Pashto indicates the categories of mood, aspect, tense, gender, person, number, and voice. Mood is closely related to aspect and tense. The three moods are: the indicative, the imperative, and the subjunctive. There are two aspects: perfective and imperfective. There are two simple tenses: present and past. The combination of these major categories has led to the terms Present I, Past I, Perfect I, Imperative I, and Passive Participle I, all of which are imperfective, and Present II, Past II, Perfect II, Imperative II, and Passive Participle II, al of which are perfective (See Penzl, sec.

81.4). Gender distinction (masculine and feminine) is made only in the third person singular and plural in the past tense, and the third person singular of the auxiliary /yə́m/ 'am.' Most verbal forms in Pashto inflect for person (first, second, and third) and number (singular and plural). There are two voices, active and passive.

The infinitive is formed by adding the suffix /-əl/ to the stem; e.g., /ræseydə́l/ 'to arrive,' /tæṛə́l/ 'to tie,' etc. The past participle is formed from the infinitive by adding the following endings: (1) /-əy/ for masculine singular as in /æcæwə́lay/ 'thrown,' (2) /-ey/ for feminine singular as in /æcæwə́ley/ 'thrown (fem.),' (3) /-i/ for masculine and feminine plural as in /æcæwəli/ 'thrown.'

2.11 A Pashto verb form consists of a stem, which carries the lexical meaning, and the affixes, which indicate person, number, mood and aspect. Some verb forms include, in addition to these, an auxiliary. The maximum number of stems for each verb is two.

a. The verbal endings are as follows:

		Singular	Plural
1.	Present:	/-əm(æ)/	/-u/
	Past:	/-ə/	/-u/
2.	Present:	/-ey/	/-əy/
	Past:	/-ey/	/-ast/
3.	Present:	/-i/	/-i/
	Past: Masc.	/-əy̆ ~ -ə-/	/-əl -ə/
	Fem.	/-æ ~ -ə/	/-ə ey/

As the list shows, the endings are basically alike in the present and past, but they are different in the present and past of the auxiliary /yəm/ 'am' in the third person, as the following paradigm will show:

			Singular	Plural
1.	Present:		/yə́m/	/yú/
	Past:		/wə́m/	/wú/
2.	Present:		/yé́y/	/yə́y/
	Past:		/wé́y/	/wást/
3.	Present:	Masc.	/dǽy/	/di/
		Fem.	/dǽ/	/di/
	Past:	Masc.	/wú/	/wǽ(ə)/
		Fem.	/wə́/	/wéy/

b. Pashto verbs take two prefixes: (1) The prefix /wə-/ indicates the perfective action; e.g., /tərə́/ 'keep on tying' vs. /wətərə/ 'Tie!'. (2) The prefix /mə-/ indicates negation; e.g., /mə́ʒə/ 'Don't go!'.

c. There are two other markers which Penzl calls "modal particles" (1) /bə/ which indicates futurity; e.g., /xə́st bəlíkəm/ 'I'll write a letter.' /bə/ occurs in close juncture with verb if there is no noun or pronouns between them; e.g., /zə́ bəlár sə́m/ 'I'll be going' vs. /zə́ bəpəǰmán tə lár səm/ 'I'll be going to Paghman.'

d. There is a small group of words functioning as auxiliaries such as /yə́m/ 'am,' /kéyzəm/ 'I become,' /kəwə́m/ 'I do' (See Penzl 83.4).

2.12 Most Pashto simple verbs have two stems, present and past. The relationship between the two stems is the basis for a morphological classification of verbs (See Penzl, sec. 84).

Class I comprises those verbs which have the same stem in both present and past; e.g., /tæṛém/ 'I tie'; /wétæṛəm/ 'if I may tie'; /tæṛə́/ 'keep on tying'; /wétæṛæ/ 'tie up'; /tæṛə́ləm/ 'I was tying.'

Class II consists of those verbs whose past form can be derived from the present stem by morphophonemic alternation; thus from the present stem /ræséyẓ/ 'reach' is derived the past stem /ræséyd/; e.g., /ræséyẓəm/ 'I reach, arrive' vs. /ræseydə́ləm/ 'I was reaching.' Verbs in this class can be subdivided into various subclasses according to the types of differences between the two stems (See Penzl, sec. 85).

Class III consists of verbs whose two stems are completely different; e.g.,

Present	Past
/wínəm/	/lidə́ləm/ 'I saw'
/gówrəm/	/kətə́ləm/ 'I looked at'
/básəm/	/istə́ləm/ 'I took off'
/lærə́m/	/dərlowdə́m/ 'I had, owned'

Class IV consists of verbs which, on the basis of the relationship between their present and past stems, would belong to one or another of the three classes already described. They are grouped

into a separate class, however, because they form their aspects according to rules different from those used in the other three classes. For further information see Penzl sec. 87. Class IV includes the following verbs only:

Present			Past			
Imperfect		Perfect	Imperfect		Perfect	Meaning in Present
/kæwə́m/	:	/wə́kəm/ -	/kæwə́ləm/	:	/wə́kṛəm/	'I do'
/wṛə́m/	:	/yówsəm/ -	/wṛə́m/	:	/yúwṛəm/	'I carry'
/kéyẓəm/	:	/wə́səm/ -	/keydə́ləm/	:	/wə́səm/	'I become'
/bláyəm/	:	/bówzəm/ -	/biwə́ləm/	:	/bówtləm/	'I take it away'
/ɬə́m/	:	/wlár səm/ -	/tlə́m/	:	/wə́lárəm/	'I go'
/iẓdə́m/	:	/kṣéyẓdəm/ -	/iṣowə́ləm/	:	/kṣeyṣuwə́ləm/	'I put'
/raɬə́m/	:	/rásəm/ -	/ratlə́m/	:	/rá$\breve{g}$ləm/	'I come'

There is a large number of compound verbs formed by combining nouns or adjectives with the auxiliary /kæwə́m/ 'I do,' /kéyẓəm/ 'I become,' as in /šurú kæwə́m/ 'I begin,' /kár šurú kéyẓi/ 'The work is begun.' The two auxiliaries function as the main verbs of Class IV; in fact, Penzl considers these formations as a sub-Class IV A.

2.13 Aspect

As earlier mentioned, the imperfective and perfective in the present are distinguished by /wə-/ in Classes I-III, and by different

stems in Class IV. The perfective forms can be derived from their corresponding imperfective forms by (1) prefixation of /wə-/ as in /tæṛə́m/ 'I tie' vs. /wə́tæṛəm/ 'that I tie'; (2) shifting the stress to the initial syllable as in /kṣeynæwə́m/ 'I plant' vs. /kṣéynæwəm/ 'that I plant'; (3) suppletion as in /raʒə́m/ 'I came' vs. /rásəm/ 'that I come.'

The imperfective and perfective in the past tense are derived from the past stems. The distinction between them is made in one of three ways: (1) In Classes I-III, the prefix /wə-/ is added, and the primary stress shifted to that prefix. (2) In Class IV, either the stress shifts to the initial syllable or they take the prefix /wə-/ in the perfective. (3) By suppletion: Examples are:

Imperfective	Perfective
/tæṛə́ləm/ 'I was being tied'	/wə́tæṛələm/ 'I was tied'
/kæwə́ləm/ 'I was doing'	/wə́kṛəm/ 'I did'
/kṣeynæwə́ləm/ 'I was being placed'	/kṣéynæwələm/ 'I was placed'
/tlə́m/ 'I was going'	/wlaṛəm/ 'I went'

The perfective aspect in the past tense may also be formed by combining the past participle with auxiliary /yə́m/ 'am,' as in /raǧə́læy yə́m/ 'I have come'; /tilə́læy dáy/ 'He has gone.'

2.14 Tense

The verbal system in Pashto shows contrasting indicative forms in the present and past tenses; e.g., /tæṛə́m/ 'I tie'; /wə́tæṛəm/ 'If

I may tie' vs. /tærə́ləm/ 'I was being tied,' /wə́tærələm/ 'I was tied.'

The prefix /bə-/ indicates the future either with imperfective or with perfective, as in /zə́ beyéy wæhə́m/ 'I'll be beating him now and then' vs. /zə́ bəyéy wə́wæhəm/ 'I'll beat him.'

2.15 Mood

Mood is closely related to tense and aspect. There are three moods: indicative, imperative and subjunctive. The subjunctive ending is /-ay/ and is added to the past stem. The subjunctive comes after a particle such as /káški/, /šáyæd/, /báyæd/. It may refer to the present or past tense. The ending /-ay/ is added to the past stem to indicate the subjunctive of a past verb; e.g., /káški pæğmán tæ tələ́lay way/ 'I wish we had gone to Paghman.' If the action refers to the future (or present), no special subjunctive form is used, and the verb form is put in the future; e.g., /káški pæğmán tæ bælárru/ 'I wish we were going to Paghman.' The combination of the subjunctive and the auxiliary /sə́m/ results in a potential phrase; e.g., /kətə́lay sə́m/ 'I can see,' /kətə́lay wə́m/ 'I was able to see.'

The imperative mood is restricted to the second person (singular, plural) in the present: /wəlársæy/ 'Stand up! (plural)'; /wə́dæreyẓæ/ 'Stop! (singular)'. There are two imperative forms, usually formed by adding the suffix /-æ/ to the imperfective and perfective in the present tense respectively. They show a clear distinction

as to aspect: Imperative I indicates continuation, duration, and repetition; imperative II indicates completion of the action; e.g., /tæɾɛ́/ 'keep on tying' vs. /wə́tæɾɛ/ 'tie!' /mə-/ is always followed by an imperative I and indicates negation; e.g., /dá mə́kæwæ/ 'Don't do it.'

/di/, which denotes an emphatic command, is used with first and third persons. /di/ occurs before the verb, unless there is a noun or a pronoun before the verb, in which case /di/ appears before the noun or pronoun; e.g., /dǽy dilá̱rsi/ 'He must go'; /dǽydi pæǧmán tæ lá̱rsi/ 'He must go to Paghman.'

2.16 Syntactically, all verbs are divided into two main categories: transitive and intransitive. Transitive verb forms have a passive meaning in past tense; e.g., /zə́ yéy wə́wæhələm/ 'I was beaten by him.' The agent (subject) and the verb agree in person, number, and gender. In the present tense, they form passive phrases usually consisting of the passive participles and the auxiliary /kéyz̧/; e.g., /zə́ ǧwɾəwə́l kéyz̧əm/ 'I am being deceived.'

The intransitive verbal forms have active meanings in all tenses. Examples are:

Future: /zə́ bə wəz̧ə́m/ 'I'll get out.'

Present: /zə́ /zə́m/ 'I go.'

Past: /wə́wætələm/ 'I went out.'
/tələlə́y yə́m/ 'I have gone.'

2.17 Pashto verbal forms consist of active and passive voices. The transitive verbs form a passive phrase consisting of the passive participles and auxiliary /kéyẓ/ 'to become, to get'; e.g., /tæṛél kéyẓi/ 'It is being tied.' The actor is expressed by nominal phrases, such as /də mudír lə xwá bælél kéyẓi/ 'He was called by the director.' For agreement, the feminine subject takes /-æ/ in the singular, and the plural subject takes /-ey/ as a suffix; e.g., /da bælélæ kéyẓi/ 'She was called,' /múẓ bæléley kéyẓu/ 'We were called.'

CHAPTER III

DARI MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

As in the case of Pashto, Dari morphology will be discussed in terms of "parts of speech," a broad working definition of which was provided in the preceding chapter. The following description is based primarily on Ferhadi, Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, and J. Wei, "Dailectal Differences Between Three Standard Varieties of Persian: Tehran, Kabul, and Tajik." The Dari parts of speech can be subdivided into two broad groups according to whether or not they are inflected. The uninflected ones are discussed first.

3.1 Uninflected Parts of Speech

The uninflected parts of speech, corresponding to the Pashto "Particles," consist of the following:

a. Interjections

Interjections often constitute brief independent sentences, expressing various emotions and exclamation; e.g., /bə́ley/ 'Yes!'; /néy/ 'No!'; /wáx/ 'Ouch!' etc.

b. Prepositions

Prepositions precede the nouns which they govern. /də́/ 'in, into'; /bə́/ 'to, with, by'; /sə́r/ 'on, on top of'; /ə́z/ 'of, from'; etc.

c. Conjunctions

Conjunctions occur between or within phrases or sentences. /ó/ 'and'; /yá/ 'or'; /ágæ/ 'if, whether'; etc.

d. Adverbs

Adverbs, which end in /-æn/, as in /kamélæn/ 'completely'; /tæqríbæn/ 'approximately'; /fáwræn/ 'immediately'; etc. In addition to these, members of some other parts of speech may function syntactically as adverbs; e.g., /téyz/ 'quick; quickly'; /ræwán/ 'fluent; fluently'; /šáw/ 'night; tonight'; /wáxt/ 'time; early', as in /téyz méyræ/ 'He walks quickly'; /ræwán xandá méytanæ/ 'He can read fluently.'

3.2 Inflected Parts of Speech--Substantives

The inflected parts of speech are substantives and verbs. Substantives show several features: (1) they form plurals; (2) they enter connective /-e/ ("ezafat") constructions, (3) and they take the object marker /-ræ/. The subclasses of substantives are nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, and prenouns.

a. Nouns

Nouns form their plurals by suffixation, or, in the case of Arabic loanwords, by internal change, resulting in "broken" plurals.

(1) Suffixation; e.g., /ketáb/ + /-a/:/ketabá/ 'books'; /moškél/ + /-at/:/moškelát/ 'difficulties'; /malém/ + /-in/:/malemín/ 'teachers.' /-in/ and /-at/ are mostly used in Arabic borrowings.

(2) Broken plurals are exemplified by /šǽxs/ 'person': /æšxás/ 'people'; /féyl/ 'action': /æfál/ 'actions.'

b. Adjectives

The morphological feature distinguishing adjectives from other substantives is the comparative suffix /-tær/; e.g., /tæmbǽl/ 'lazy': /tæmbæltǽr/ 'lazier.' Adjectives follow the noun in connective /-e/ constructions, as in /šǽxse layéq/ 'a studious man.' They may, however, precede the nouns without the connective /-e/ (for emphasis): /layéq adǽm/. Sometimes adjectives function as nouns, forming plurals and/or taking the object marker /-ræ/; e.g., /bozórg/ 'great, big': /bozorgá/ 'the great or the big ones'; /xórdæ bégi/ 'take the small one.' Suportative adjectives are formed by the addition of the suffix /-in/ to the comparative form; e.g., /bozorgtǽr/:/bozorgtærín/ 'the greatest or biggest.' These forms, however, precede the nouns they modify; e.g., /bozorgtærín adǽm/ 'the greatest man'; /layeqtærín adǽm kár-æs/ 'A more capable man is needed.'

c. Numerals

Numerals precede the nouns they modify, as in /séy qælǽm/ or /séy danǽ qælǽm/ 'three (pieces of) pens.' Only those numerals considered as groups use the plural constructions, such as /dæǽ/ 'tens'; /sædǽ/ 'hundreds'; /æzarǽ/ 'thousands'; etc.

Ordinal numerals are formed from the cardinals by the addition of the suffix /-óm/; e.g., /caróm/ 'fourth'; /šæšóm/ 'sixth;' as in /šæšóm næfér/ 'the sixth person.'

Numerals take the object marker /-(r)æ/ as in /pénjæ geréft/ 'He took the 5'; /pænjómæ geréft/ 'He took the fifth one.' They fall in connective constructions too, as in /ketábe pénj/ 'Book Five'; /ketábe pænjóm/ 'the fifth book.' Sometimes the ordinals take the suffix /-in/, such as /šæšomín/ 'the sixth one,' in which case they precede the noun they modify; e.g., /šæšomín næfér/ 'the sixth person.'

d. Pronouns

There are two sets of personal pronouns: The first set is called "independent pronouns" and the second, a group of bound morphemes, "suffixed pronouns." The two sets are not completely interchangeable. The suffixed pronouns are used only to indicate the possessive, as in /ketábem/ 'my book,' and, when added to verbs, to indicate the object /góftomeš/ 'I told him'; /dídomeš/ 'I saw him.'

(1) The independent pronouns have the following forms:

	Singular	Plural
1.	/mǽ/	/má/
2.	/tú/	/šomá/
3.	/ú/	/uná/

The independent pronouns, as all substantives, can take the object-marker /-ræ/; e.g., /šomáræ góftom/ 'I told you.'

(2) The suffixed pronouns have the following forms after consonants:

	Singular	Plural
1.	/-em/	/-emə/
2.	/-et/	/-etan/
3.	/-eš/	/-ešan/

e. Prenouns

Prenouns are of two types.

(1) One group can function either as nouns or as modifiers of nouns which they precede. The two forms /i/ 'this' and /u/ 'that' which function as demonstrative pronouns as in /i ketáb/ 'this book'; /u ketáb/ 'that book,' take the plural morpheme /-a/; e.g., /iya~ina/ 'these'; /uwa~una/ 'those'; and the object suffix /-rə/; e.g., /írə/ 'this one';/úrə/ 'that one.' They may be the second (or later) member of connective /-e/ constructions following nouns; e.g., /ránge i/ 'the color of this'; /ketábe u/ 'his book'; etc.

(2) The other group of prenouns which function as interrogative pronouns, are /cánd/ 'some'; /cí/ 'what';/kodám/ 'which.' The following illustrations show the prenouns as subject and object: /kodám amád/ 'which one came'; /kodámə geréft/ 'which one did he take '; /ci góft/ 'what did he say?'; /círə góft/ 'what did he talk about?' They may modify nouns, in which case they precede them; e.g., /i ketáb/

'this book'; /kodám ketáb/ 'which book'; etc., /cánd/ also takes the ordinal suffix /-om/, as in /cændóm/ 'in which grade.'

3.3 Structures of Modification

An important point in connection with the Dari substantives concerns the two major structures of modification. The first, and far more common, is one in which the already referred to connective /-e/ connects the modifier with the modified, the latter preceding the /-e/. In the other, the order is reverse, with no connective /-e/ used. Examples of each follow:

a. With the connective /-e/

(1) Adjective as modifier /ketábe xúb/ 'a good book'

(2) Noun as modifier /ketábe æsán/ 'Hasan's book'

(3) Pronoun as modifier /ketábe má/ 'my book'

(4) Prenoun as modifier /ketábe í/ 'his book'

b. Without the connective /-e/

(1) Cardinal number as modifier /dó ketáb/ 'two books'

(2) Adjective as modifier /kælán adám/ 'an elder man'

(3) Prenoun as modifier /ú ketáb/ 'that book'

The substantives, in addition to the connective /-e/ construction, take the object marker /-ræ/ which functions as the direct object marker as in /dærwazéy kæláræ bæstó méykonem / 'I am going to close the gate'; /ketábe englisíræ ræwán kód/ 'He sent the English book'; /dærwazéræ bæstó konéyn/ 'Shut the door'; /bozorgáræ dídom/ 'I met the oldest ones'; etc.

3.4 Inflected Parts of Speech--Verbs

A simple verb form consists of a stem, one or two prefixes indicating aspect and mood, and suffixes indicating person and number. There is also voice (active, passive, and causitive). Periphrastic verbs also are used in various functions.

a. Verb Stems

Each simple verb has two stems, "present" and "past." (1) In some cases the past stem is formed by the addition of /-id/:/-pǽr-/: /-pærid-/ 'fly'; /-dǽw-/:/-dæwid-/ 'run.' These verbs have been called "regular." (2) In some others, the past stem is formed by the addition of /-t/~/-d/ to the present stem; e.g., /-yáf-/:/-yáft-/ 'find'; /-xán-/:/-xánd-/ 'read.' (3) In still others, the relation between the two stems is governed by a set of morphophonemic rules involving alternations of various kinds; e.g., /-dówz-/:/-dówxt-/ 'sew'; /-xéyz-/: /-xéyst-/ 'get up'; (4) Suppletion, e.g., /-bín-/:/-díd-/ 'see'; etc. For further information on verb stem alternation see J. Wei pp. 29-30, and Farhadi, sec. 141.

b. Participle

The past participle is made by the addition of the suffix /-æ/ to the past stem, as in /ræft-/ 'went':/ræftǽ/ 'gone'; /xówrd-/ 'ate': /xowrdǽ/ 'eaten'; etc.

c. Verb Endings and Prefixes

Verb endings are identical after both stems, except in the second person singular of the imperative and the third person singular of the past and imperfective.

	Singular	Plural
1.	/-om/	/-eym/
2.	/-i/	/-eyn/
3.	/-æ/	/-æn/

Verbs take three prefixes: (1) The prefix /mey-/ precedes a present or past stem to indicate recurrence or duration; e.g., /méyxanæ/ 'He is reading'; /méyxand/ 'He used to read!' /mey-/ with the present stem sometimes expresses futurity; e.g., /sæbá méynewisæ/ 'He will write tomorrow.' (2) /næ-/ expresses negation; e.g., /némeyrom/ 'I don't go'; /nékow/ 'Don't do it.' /næ-/ precedes /mey-/; e.g., /némeyrom/ 'I won't go.' (3) /be-/ expresses the imperative or the subjunctive mood; e.g., /besyár dárs bóxan/ 'Study hard'; /égæ bóxanæ bád némeyšæ/ 'It won't be bad if he studies.' /be-/ does not combine with the other two prefixes. In the negative, /be-/ is simply replaced with /næ-/, e.g.,/bayád dárs bétæ/ 'He should teach,' vs. /bayæd dárs nétæ/ 'He shouldn't teach'; /égæ néxanæ bád méšæ/ 'It will be bad if he doesn't study.'

d. Auxiliaries

The auxiliaries are /budán/ 'to be'; /ræftán/ 'to go'; and /šodán/ 'to become.' All of these verbs are also used as main verbs, as in /mæríz búdom/ 'I was sick'; /mæríz šódom/ 'I became sick'; /mæktáb ráftom/ 'I went to school.' Their use as auxiliaries is illustrated by /xaná budá bášæ/ 'He might be at home'; /xordá ræwán-æs/ 'He is eating now'; /poxtá šodá/ 'It has been cooked.'

e. Aspects

There are four aspects in the Dari verbal system: "simple," "completive," "incompletive," and "habitual."

(1) The simple aspect consists of the simple stems plus the verb endings and, where relevant, the negative prefix /næ-/; e.g., /xordom/ 'I ate'; /náxordom/ 'I didn't eat.'

(2) The completive aspect expresses the completion of an action, and it is formed by the past participle with the auxiliary /búdæn/ 'to be'; e.g., /xordá búdom/ 'I had eaten'; /péyš æzínke šomá béræseyn ma nan xordá budéym/ 'Before you arrived, we had had our meal.' /ta šomá béyayen nan xordá méybašom/ 'By the time you arrive, I'll have eaten my meal.'

(3) The incompletive aspect expresses an uncompleted action. It is formed by the past participle of a verb with the relevant simple tenses of the auxiliary 'ræftan' 'to go on'; e.g., /xardá (ræftá) méyrom/ 'I keep eating'; /xordá méyræftom/ 'I kept eating.'

(4) The habitual aspect denotes a repeated action, or one taking (or taken) place over a period of time. There are two ways of expressing this aspect. One is by the addition of the prefix /mey-/ to the stem, although the /mey-/ form has other functions as well (See Section 3.4d). The common form of the habitual action is formed by the past participle of the main verb followed by the past participle of the auxiliary /ræftán/ 'to go on,' followed by the /mey-/ form of /budán/ 'to be'; e.g., /xandá ræftá méybudom/ 'I had kept reading,' as in /ærówz ke be mæktáb méyræftom, ú dárs xandá ræftá méybud/ 'Every day, when I went to school, he was studying'; /ærówz ke bemæktáb méyrom u dárs xandáræftá méybašæ/ 'Every day, when I go to school, he is (will be) studying.' More detailed information on the Dari aspects will be found in J. Wei, pp. 32-35.

f. Mood

There are four moods in Dari: "indicative," "imperative," "subjunctive," and "dubitative." The imperative form occurs in the second person only. It is formed by the addition of the prefix /be-/ to the present stem, with no ending when in the singular; e.g., /bóxowreyn/ 'Eat! (pl.)' /bóxow/ 'Eat! (sing.)' In the periphrastic form, it is formed by the past participle (of the main verb) with /báš/ or /bórow/ (the imperative forms of the auxiliaries /budán/ and /ræftán/); e.g., /xordá borów/ or /xordá báš/ 'keep on eating.'

The subjunctive mood occurs with all persons, while the imperative occurs only with the second person (sing., pl.); e.g., /xordá bášæ/ 'He might have eaten'; /xordá (ræftá) bóræ/ 'He might (should) keep eating.' The dubitative is distinguished only by the model /xát/ 'might' from subjunctive; e.g., /xordá xát bóræ/ 'He might continue eating' (J. Wei, pp. 36).

g. Tense

There are two tenses in Dari, "present" and "past." Each stem with one or more affixes expresses an action in the present or past tense. There is no future tense as such, at least formally, but the prefix /mey-/, added to a present stem, sometimes indicates futurity. Examples are:

Present: /felán nán méyxorom/ 'I'm eating now'

Future: /pæstár nán méyxorom/ 'I'll eat later on'

Past: /nán xórdom/ 'I ate my meal.'

h. Voice

The passive voice is formed by adding the auxiliary /šodán/ 'to become' to the past participle; e.g., /ketáb xandá méyšæ/ 'The book is going to be read'; /ketáb xandá šod/ 'The book was read.' The addition of the affix /-an-/ to the present stem of verbs results in the causative present stem. The further addition of /-d/ to the latter results in the past stem; e.g., /-xór-/ 'eating (stem)':/méyxowranom/ 'I make him eat':/méyxowrandom/ 'I made him eat.'

PROBLEMS IN PASHTO MORPHOLOGY FOR SPEAKERS OF DARI

Introduction

Pashto and Dari are, as cognate languages, similar in some ways. But they are also different in many ways, and this fact causes difficulties for speakers of Dari learning Pashto. Our purpose in this chapter, which is based partly on a contrastive analysis of the two languages and partly on the writer's observations both as a student and as a teacher of Pashto, is to examine some of the difficulties in the area of morphology.

Broadly considered, the problems faced by the Dari speaker may be said to fall within two general types. Some involve phenomena which are present in both languages. Thus, the same major parts of speech, or similar ones, exist in both; they both distinguish between singular and plural in substantives and verbs; both have a three-way person distinction in pronouns and verbs; and so on. On the other hand, Pashto has certain grammatical categories with no formal parallels in Dari; e.g., case and gender. The Dari speaker faces problems not only in the latter type of categories, but also in those of the first type, where--even though the general norions are familiar to him from his native Dari--he will have difficulties in mastering, besides the Pashto forms, the distribution and function of each form. As a

matter of fact, as will become clear from the following discussions and examples, there is hardly a Pashto utterance which does not present problems of both types. Thus, a noun usually appears in a case and gender form, so that the mere recognition of the word as a noun (a familiar concept) will not make it easy, because the total form requires the formal indication of the unfamiliar and obligatory categories of case and gender.

In what follows, we shall describe the problems in the following order:

(1) Those involving number, gender, and case in parts of speech other than the verb. These categories are all indicated by inflectional affixes.

(2) Those involving the verbal system. These include inflectional as well as other problems (auxiliaries, meanings of verb forms, etc.).

(3) Problems of agreement. These involve the entire Pashto system, cutting across (1) and (2).

(4) Problems of order, though these will be treated only very briefly and selectively--only as they affect phrasal constructions.

In Part II.1-3, description will focus on the noun. Adjectives and several other parts of speech do inflect for number,

gender, and case, but since they usually agree in these categories with the nouns with which they are related, the major problem is that of agreement and will, therefore, be taken up in the section on agreement. Any special features of number, gender, and case in substantives other than the noun will be noted at the end of relevant sections.

1. Number

In both languages, substantives are inflected for number, generally having distinctive forms for the singular and the plural. The problems in this area are of three types:

(1) There is a larger array of plural forms in Pashto than there is in Dari, especially in nouns and adjectives. This results in the necessity for remembering not only a larger number of plural devices, but also their correct distribution in relation to the stems to which they are added.

(2) In Pashto, each group of nouns or adjectives forms its plural according to a certain rule, and the rules are obligatory. In Dari, however, there does exist a single standard rule which can apply to all nouns and adjectives, side by side with a set of rules (mostly for broken plurals) which have limited and specified distributions, each applying to a different group of nouns and adjectives. For example:

D /ketáb/ 'book'; kotób/ /ketabá/

D /fékr/ 'thought'; /æfkár/ /fekrá/

This arrangement in Dari makes the learning of Dari plural formation comparatively easy for the Pashto speaker, for, even when he cannot remember the various rules of plural formation, of which two are seen in the above examples (the first plural in each case), he can use the general plural suffix /-a/.

(3) One of the Pashto plural suffixes is /-an/, as in /ælikán/ 'boys'; /bæzgærán/ 'farmers'; etc. As it happens, Dari has a plural morpheme phonologically identical with this, though D /-an/ is used only in writing. The identical phonological form of /-an/ in Dari and Pashto often misleads Dari learners to using it in Pashto in wrong places; e.g., they say /sæṛæyán/ instead of /sæṛí/ 'men'; /mowrán/ instead of /méndi/ 'mothers.'

2. Gender

Several facts should be noted concerning gender: (a) There is no grammatical gender in Dari. (b) In Pashto words denoting animate beings, gender generally follows natural sex; so these words cause no major difficulty except remembering the forms. (c) Feminine forms are usually identified by their final phonemes; so the problem is primarily a matter of remembering the feminine endings. In this respect, the

Pashto gender is easier than gender is in some languages in which one cannot tell the gender by phonological criteria. (d) Adjectives, like nouns, inflect for gender, but since they completely agree with related nouns in their gender, the major problem is one of agreement, which, therefore, will be taken up in the section on agreement.
(e) The numerals in Pashto do not inflect for gender, except /yáw/ 'one' and /dwé/ 'two.'

3. Case

Pashto has a case system in the substantives while Dari has only the suffix /-ræ/, which to some extent functions as a case marker, but which lacks features of genuine full fledged case suffixes. Besides, the Pashto case system is closely related to the prepositions. The distribution of the various cases will be discussed here:

(1) The direct case is unmarked. It functions in two ways: (a) With all intransitive verbs and with the present tense of transitive verbs, it functions as subject; e.g., /sæŗáy ṣóẓæ wíni/ 'The man sees the woman'; /sæŗáy wĭáŗ/ 'The man went.' (b) It functions as object (the goal of action) with transitive verbs in the past tense; e.g.: /ma ṣóẓæ wélidəlæ/ 'The woman was seen by me'.

(2) The oblique case functions in two ways: (a) With all transitive past forms, the noun in the oblique case expresses the agent; e.g., /zé spí xwəléley yəm/ 'I have been bitten by the dog'

(/spí/ obl. sing.). (b) In all other situations, it expresses the goal of action; e.g., /zə́ ḍowḍə́y xrə́m/ 'I eat my meal (/ḍowḍə́y/ obl. fem. sing.). The lack of oblique case in Dari may cause two types of problems: (a) The use of the correct case ending (oblique II) with certain prepositions and (b) the function of the oblique case in specific instances; that is to say, whether a given noun in the oblique case is the agent or the goal of action. The students tend to say: /æliḿæ tæ wə́rkæ/ instead of /æliḿéy tæ wə́rkæ/ 'Give it to Halima'; /tər kówr pówri lárṣəm/ instead of /tər kówræ pówri lárṣəm/ 'I need to go as far as to the house.' In these examples, the students omit the case ending in /æliḿéy/ and /kówræ/ (obl. sing.). (b) is a problem of agreement and will be discussed later.

(3) The vocative case endings, whose use is restricted to words designating human beings, are often omitted by Dari learners. The endings are /-æ/, /-ey/, /-i/. E.g., they tend to say /éy ælík/ instead of /éy ælíkæ/ 'Hey, boy!'; /məlgə́r/ instead of /məlgə́rey/ 'friend!';/mówr/instead of /mówri/ 'Mother!' The vocative in Dari is expressed by using the interjections /ów/ 'Oh!' and /éy/ 'Hey!' as /éy bæcáe/ 'Hey, boy!' and /ów ræfíq/ 'Oh, friend!' It should be noted that in addition to the obligatory vocative endings, Pashto may also use the interjections /ey/ or /ow/, but that the latter are optional. Furthermore, these interjections are phonologically identical with the morphemes used to indicate the vocative in Dari, a fact which no doubt compounds the problem.

4. Verbal System

The verbal systems of Pashto and Dari are both characterized by mood-aspect-tense distinctions; the existence of two stems for most Dari verbs is parallel to the situation in Pashto; and both languages use prefixes and suffixes in their verbal systems. A great deal of difficulty, however, is caused by the differences between the languages in the forms, functions, and distribution of various verbal elements or combinations of elements. Some problems are caused by (a) irregular morphonemic relationships; (b) others by the over- or under differentiation of distinctions and/or forms in one or the other language; and (c) still others by the meaning of certain verb forms.

a. Stem Forms

There exists a large number of stem forms which the student has to memorize: /zə́m/ 'I go' vs. /lā́ṛəm/ 'I went'; /gówrəm/ 'I see' vs. /kætəeləm/ 'I looked at'; etc.

b. Over- or Underdifferentiation

The problems of this type involve the over- or underdifferentiation of forms and/or functions and/or meanings in Pashto as compared with Dari:

(1) In Dari, the prefix /mey-/ always forms the imperfective aspect, as in /méyræwom/ 'I am going' or 'I will go' and /méyræftom/ 'I was going,' while in Pashto the prefix /wə-/ makes the imperfective

aspect in the present and the perfective aspect in the past. This results in confusion for the student. For example, P /zə́ spéy tərə́m/ 'I tie the dog' vs. /zə́ spéy wə́tərəm/ 'Shall I tie the dog?'; /mə́ spéy tə́rəl/ 'I was tying the dog' vs. /mə́ spéy wə́tərəl/ 'I tied the dog.

(2) The prefix /bə-/, which indicates futurity as in P /wə́bə́gowru/ 'We will see' is often omitted by Dari students, presumably because in Dari there is no specific future maker as such, although the prefix /mey-/ in some contexts indicates futurity, as in /méybineym/ 'We'll see!'

(3) Pashto makes an aspect distinction between perfective and imperfective in the imperative as in /ṭərə́/ 'Keep tying!' and /wə́tərə/ 'Tie!,' while Dari does not make such a formal distinction, having a single form, as in /bə́bənd/ 'Tie!'

(4) In the present tense, Pashto makes no distinction between singular and plural, as in P /cáy ʃkí/ 'He (she or they) drink(s) tea,' while in Dari there are two forms (sing. and pl.), as in /cáy méyxorə/ 'He or she drinks tea'; /cáy méyxorən/ 'They drink tea.'

(5) Conversely, Pashto has two interchangeable second person plural past forms apparently with no difference in meaning, as in /xwərə́ləy/ and /xwərə́last/ 'You (pl.) had your meal.' In Dari there is only the one form /xə́rdeyn/ 'You ate.'

(6) In the third person singular and plural, the Pashto verb shows gender distinction between masculine and feminine in the past tense.

Dari does not. Consequently, sentences like the following are difficult to master: /tæṛə́l/ 'He was being tied'; /tæṛə́læ/ 'She was being tied'; /tæṛə́lə/ 'They (fem.) were being tied.' The first pair of these sentences are both rendered as /méybæst/ 'He (she) was tying' in Dari, and the last one as /bæstá méyšodæn/ 'They were being tied.' In other words, there is overdifferentiation in Pashto as compared with Dari.

c. Transitive Verb Forms

In the past stem transitive verb forms carry an automatically passive meaning; in the sentence /zá spí wóxwərələm/ 'I was bitten by the dog,' this feature is difficult for the Dari speaker to get used to because in Dari the unmarked verb is in the active voice, and the passive is formed by the past participle of the main verb and the relevant form of the auxiliary verb /šodán/; e.g., /xordá šód/ 'It was eaten'; /kərím didá šod/ 'Karim was seen.'

d. Pronominal Forms

Pashto has a set of pronominal forms, /mi, di, yey, mu/ (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg. and pl., 1 and 2 pl., respectively, which function as subjects when used with a transitive verb in the past tense, as in /dæymi wólid/ 'I saw him,' and as objects or possessive markers elsewhere, as in /zá yey nóxrem/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketáb mi rákæ/ 'Give me my book.' In Dari, there is a set of pronominal suffixes ("suffix

pronouns"), /-em, -et, -eš, -ema, -etan, ešan/ (1 sg., 2 sg., 3 sg. 1 pl., 2 pl., 3 pl.) which function as possessive markers when attached to substantives, as in /ketábem góm šód/ 'My book was lost,' and as object marker when added to transitive verbs. The Dari forms are optional, being interchangeable with independent pronouns when used as possessives, and with a combination of a noun or a pronoun and the object-market /-ræ/, or a combination of a preposition and a noun or a pronoun when used as object markers. Not so with the Pashto pronominal forms. To add to the confusion, there is a slight phonological similarity in the first person singular in the two languages: /mi/ in Pashto and /-em/ in Dari. Because of this somewhat complex situation, the Dari speaker is likely either to omit the Pashto pronominals altogether, or to substitute the Dari forms. Thus, he may say /zé néxrom/ instead of /zé yey néxrom/ 'I don't eat it'; /ketábem círi dæy/ instead of /ketáb mi círi dæy/ 'Where is my book?'

5. Agreement

There are three major sets of problems of agreement: (a) those related to the government of prepositions over cases; (b) those related to agreement between modifier and head; and (c) those related to agreement between the verb and its subject and in certain cases also its object.

(a) Government of Prepositions over Case

It is a special characteristic of Pashto morphology that the noun is usually governed by a preposition; i.e., all prepositions require the accompanying nouns to be in the oblique case, e.g., /tər yəkšəmbéy/ 'until Sunday.' The noun may at the same time be followed as well as preceded by a preposition as in /pə yəwá bəjá/ 'at one o'clock'; /tər pəğmánə pówri/ 'as far as Paghman';/tər špéy pówri/ 'until night.' This distributional feature is absent in Dari, where prepositions can only precede the substantives, as in /ta xaná/ 'as far as to the house'; /bə dowstán/ 'to the friends'; etc., and where there are no postpositions of the type found in Pashto.

(b) The Agreement between Modifier and Its Head

Difficulties are also presented by the agreement between the modifier and its head (noun): (1) An adjective modifying a noun must agree in number, case, and gender; e.g., /ğáṭi sarí/ 'big men'; /ğáṭə ṣáẓə/ 'a big woman.' (2) A numeral agrees in case with its noun; e.g., /pə špéẓow bəjów/ 'at six o'clock.' (3) A demonstrative pronoun and a noun agree in number, case, and gender, e.g., /də húğu ṣáẓu/ 'for those women.'

There is no agreement in Dari in any of these instances. Thus in /dərəxte kalán/ 'a big tree,' the noun and the adjective are both singular, and in /dərəxtáye kalán/ 'big trees,' the noun is plural,

but the adjective is in the singular. Dari students often fail to observe these rules of agreement, coming up with sentences such as the following, in which sometimes the inflectional endings are omitted from both the head and the modifier:

i	/ɢæṭ ketabúnæ/	instead of	/ɢáṭi ketabúnæ/	'big books'
ii	/də ɢáṭ ketabúnæ/	"	/də ɢáṭu ketabúnu/	'from the big books'
iii	/ɢáṭ wónæ/	"	/ɢáṭæ wónæ/	'a big tree'
iv	/də ɢáṭ wónæ/	"	/də ɢáṭi wóni/	'from the big tree'
v	/də ɢáṭ wóni/	"	/də ɢæṭu wónu/	'from the big trees'
vi	/pə ɬælówr bæjá/	"	/pə ɬælówru bæjú/	'at four o'clock'
vii	/pə špáẓ ɢáṭ ketabúnæ/	"	/pə špáẓu ɢáṭu ketabúnu/	'on the five big books'
viii	/pə húɢæṣáẓu/	"	/pə húɢu sáẓu/	'to those women'

In examples i and v, the adjective (/ɢáṭ/) must agree with the head in number (pl.), and in case (/də ɢáṭu/), direct and oblique, respectively. In examples ii and vi, the modifiers, an adjective (/ɢáṭ/) and a numeral (/ɬælowr/), respectively, must agree with their heads (/ketabúnæ, bæjá/) in the oblique plural. In example iii, the modifying adjective and the noun must agree in the feminine gender. In example vii, the agreement is between the head word (/ketabúnæ/) and

the two modifiers (/špáẓ/) and the adjective (/ǧáṭ/). In example viii, case agreement is required between the demonstrative pronoun /húǧæ/ and the noun /ṣáɬæ/ in the oblique plural form.

c. Agreement Involving the Verb

There are several types of problems of agreement involving the verb:

(1) There is person and number agreement between the verb and the subject in all intransitive verbs and in the present tense of the transitive verbs; e.g., /zə ɬám/ 'I go'; /zá yey wæhám/ 'I beat him.'

(2) Wherever gender distinction is made in the verb (which is in the 3 sg. present of the verb 'to be,' and in the 3 sg. past of all the other verbs), it agrees with the subject in gender; e.g., /dá mæṇá srá dæ/ 'This apple (fem.) is red'; /da ketab sur dæy/ 'This book (m.) is red; /hælíma wáræǧlæ/ 'Halima(fem.) went (fem.).'

(3) In the past forms of the transitive verbs, there is person, number, and gender agreement between the verb and its object, but not with its subject, e.g., /má ḍowḍáy wáxwæṛæ/ 'I eat (fem.) my meal (fem.)'; /kærím spáy wáwæhəlæ/ 'Karim hit (fem.) the bitch (fem.)'; /ma xrá biwəl/ 'I led (m.pl.) the donkeys (masc.pl.).'

(4) There is also agreement between the transitive past forms of verbs and the case of either the subject or the object, in the following way: If the grammatical subject is in the direct case, the object will have to be in the oblique case, and the verb will agree

with the grammatical subject (in person, number, and gender); e.g., /zə́ spí wə́xwærə̣m/ 'I was bitten by the dog,' where /zə́/ 'I' is in the direct case and agrees with the verb in every respect, and where /spí/ is in the oblique case. If the grammatical subject is in the oblique case, the grammatical object will have to be in the direct case, and the verb agrees with the grammatical object; e.g., /dúy ḍowḍə́y wə́xwærə̣/ 'They ate (fem.) their meal (fem.).'

4.6 Problems of Order

Problems of order strictly speaking belong in the syntax, with which this thesis is not concerned. However, a few problems involving order in phrases will be mentioned here.

(1) In some Pashto noun phrases, adjectives precede the nouns they modify, as in P/jíg sæ̣rə́y/ 'a tall man.' An adverb also may precede a noun, as in /pə́wrtæ sæ̣rə́y/ 'the man above.' In Dari, modifying nouns and adverbs follow the noun they modify in a connective /-e/ construction, as in /adə́me belə́nd/ ' a tall man'; and /næfə́re balá/ 'the man above.' Dari students of Pashto tend to transfer their own structure (without the connective /-e/) to Pashto, thus saying /sæ̣rə́y jíg/ instead of /jíg sæ̣rə́y/; /sæ̣rə́y pə́wrtæ/ instead of /pə́wrtæ sæ̣rə́y/.

(2) In Pashto noun phrases, the noun (1) may precede the preposition, as in /ælík tæ/ 'to the boy'; (2) may follow th preposition, as in /lə kə́wræ/ 'from the house':, or (3) may be

followed as well as preceded by prepositions, as in /tər kówræ pówri/ 'as far as the house,' while in Dari no preposition follows the noun, as in /æz xatére šagærdá/ 'for the sake of students.' The students usually tend to drop the preposition after the nouns as in /də šagərdánu/ instead of /də šagerdánu dəpáræ/ 'for the sake of students'; /də náwey/ instead of /də nawey dəpáræ/ 'for the bride'; etc.

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